1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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 596 857

the house and are not given very much free time. They work in the kitchen and around the house, assisting their mother and sisters-in-law and helping to take care of younger siblings or nieces or nephews. In their spare time they usually make fiber hats. Unlike their young brothers (who spend much time playing and little helping in the house or fields), the girls, partially as training for their eventual marriage, are burdened with a good deal of responsibility from morning until night.

In the joint or stem family, the discipline of children is theoretically performed by any adult who happens to be present. However, in Hsin Hsing village it is considered better for a child's own parents to discipline him when at all possible; a paternal uncle may correc· his nephew only if the boy's parents are absent. It is well realized that antagonisms between members of the larger family can too easily arise over this problem. 596 593 861

Although the discipline of daughters-in-law is traditionally a prerogative of the mother-in-law (the *chia chang's* wife), she imposes her authority through her son, the girl's husband. Thus, if a daughter-in-law steps out of line—especially if she is new in the family—her mother-in-law will call her husband in and demand that he beat his wife or otherwise discipline her. The *chia chang* himself has almost nothing to do with his sons' wives. He not only does not concern himself with their discipline but he seldom talks with them, and would not remain alone in the room with one of them. 596 593 606

However, the *chia chang* shows little overt feelings towards any member of his family. While he is likely to fondle his infant son or daughter, and especially a grandchild, in public, such open display of affection ceases completely when the child is several years old. After that a man's relationship with his children becomes quite formal. 596 593

Many villagers still feel that when each person in the joint family fulfills his role properly, this form of family structure has great advantages. They say that only the large family can "become wealthy" and have "power." The large family makes it possible for people to work at a combination of occupations. While most of the family lives in the village and works the large landholdings which villagers believe only a large family can accumulate, some of the members may work in the town or perhaps locally as minor civil servants. Only a large family can have numerous contacts outside the village with relatives by marriage and with friends. To the Hsin Hsing villager, these extensive relationships with outside people, and frequent visits from these people, symbolize the family's status and enhance its reputation and prestige. 596 [571]

The villagers' views about the advantages which accrue to the large family which make it their ideal are not without foundation. There are families in the Hsin Hsing area, usually landlord families, which 596

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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593 854 857 A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the day, thus relieving the mother for her tasks. It is common to see girls of six or older, or boys if there are no sisters, carrying younger children on their backs. While this prevents older children from participating in many activities with their age mates, there are usually enough children carrying little brothers or sisters around to allow the formation of separate play groups. A boy saddled with a younger sibling is, of course, much more restricted in his activities than a girl in the same situation.

854 The young child is thus rarely left by himself; he gets a great deal of attention and much affection. One seldom hears a child crying. Since a young child is seldom permitted to crawl about on the ground freely except when he is within sight of someone older, there is also little chance of his being injured. Some village families do have bamboo playpen-carriage combinations in which a child can be kept while the mother is busy with other things.

857 Generally speaking, very young children have a great deal of freedom and are given few responsibilities. Boys and girls, until the age of five or six, play together and can be seen running about the village in small groups. At about six, they begin to be assigned minor chores about the house such as sweeping, care of still younger children, even care of the fowl. Little girls are given responsibilities earlier than boys, and their activities are thus restricted much sooner.

861 618 612 Children may be disciplined by either parent. Frequently, this task falls to the mother when the father is away working. On occasion, when the father has been the primary disciplinarian in the family, his absence may affect the behavior of his children, and they may refuse to obey their mother. In such cases village *ch'in tsu* may speak with the child, but only if the child's father has expressly asked them to do so. Even brothers do not like to interfere in the training of each other's children since quarrels may develop out of such interference. It is even less likely that a *ch'in ch'i* would discipline a relative's child. This is natural, since most *ch'in ch'i* live outside the village and thus are distant both geographically and in blood relationship. At the same time the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is a notably warm one, and it is unlikely that relatives would care to disturb it by attempts to discipline others' children.

861 Young children are not frequently disciplined physically and are never disciplined in this way when they reach their early teens. If parents had to beat a child over fifteen, people would say that they could not have "brought him up properly if they still had to beat him." Only on a couple of occasions did I see a child being beaten. In one case a girl of about ten had been caught stealing fruit from a villager's tree. A big disturbance followed, and the girl's father beat her in front of the many villagers who were present. It appeared that

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—99 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

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brought tears to her eyes. In attempting to hold back her tears, she answered more sharply than she intended. "You know I have no control over that one. If you can control her, why don't you go scold her yourself."

This made the old woman angry. "You, her own mother, can't control her so you ask me to do it for you!" With that, she scornfully turned her back on the miserable So-lan.

This cast a more serious light on what had started as a squabble between two daughters. The room became much quieter. In a corner A-hua was sobbing to a sympathetic aunt, "She said she was going to hit me, so I just told her to go ahead. She picked up the towel and hit me over and over with it, even in the face."

Lim So-lan's composure failed. "If they keep on fighting like this I am the one that is going to leave and let them fight by themselves. There is no point in my being there. The older one never would listen to me and now the younger one won't listen either. I only have two and all they give me is trouble and fighting. Everyone knows that it is impossible to control Gioq-ki and always has been. I tell A-hua not to make things worse by quarreling with her and her children, but she doesn't listen to me any more. She scolds back at her and reprimands the children in front of her. Even my grandchildren bring me grief. [61] The oldest [a five-year-old boy] scolds me to my face, but I don't dare hit him because his mother wouldn't be happy about that, not a bit! If she gets angry when I, the grandmother, hit the children of course she won't let you touch them. Why can't you just accept this? Just ignore them and listen to me. Oh, that I only have two and one can't be controlled by anyone and has to boss everyone else . . . and now the other one can't let someone scold her. How is there to be an end to the fighting in my house?"

A-hua was too near hysteria to hear what her mother said. In the pause that followed So-lan's lament, A-hua repeated what had almost become a chant, "I know why she does it. It is worse now and I know why. Just because I'm not working now she thinks I am sitting home eating her rice. That is why she does all this to me."

Evidently Lim So-lan had not grasped this aspect of the quarrel. Her despair turned at once to anger. "What is this? What do you say? Is she saying that? No, you are not working now, but it costs her no money. I am the one who pays all the money out in this family, even her bills. How can she say that? When did she say that?"

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throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

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smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,

769 Occasionally the origin of a particular pot but not its name is unknown but worship dedicated to it always continues. In one extreme case, one table has four distinct pots each with a different surname and another, three.

621 769 A means to determine the number of active agnatic kinship units (ritual or religious families) is the incidence of ancestral tables, counting the compound then as a single unit. As previously listed, there are 66 hu (households) in Sanlei but there are only 50 ancestral tables. Three households do not have tables and do not worship ancestors; two of these are Mainland soldiers living alone and the last is a common-law marriage, contracted late in life, with no offspring, natural or adopted. In 44 households, the household and worship unit are identical. The remaining 19 households share 6 tables. In other words, there are six agnatic compounds of the form described above, the number of households comprising each distribution as follows: 6,4,3,2,2, and 2. A compound of two households may be much larger in number of people than might be expected. In one compound, the two households have 29 members, the 19 of Liao Mou-tu (his kinship diagram was provided in Figure 5) and the 10 of his younger brother, Liao Mou-ti.

54 Cooperation between the family units within compounds tend to be more frequent than between other family units which are only neighbors. Although it often appears that the whole village rather than a single family

596 is responsible for enculturating each child, this is es-
• 861 pecially accentuated within a compound. Because children wander in and out of each other's rooms (between households) and are nurtured by any available adult, it took me a long time to identify compound children with particular nuclear family units. That is, I could identify a child as belonging to a particular compound but not as easily
596 identify which family within it. Also, although women
[621] neighbors frequently shared work tasks together such as grinding rice, and took turns with some tasks so one could have time off for other things, i.e., one woman might prepare dinner and care for the two sets of children, these two practices were also more extensive in compounds. With rare exceptions, only in extended families or compounds could the only adult female in a family with small children have a whole day off to work in the fields.
[461] Women took turns for almost everyone preferred the relative freedom of field work. Additionally, there was the concomitant benefit of a periodic contribution of income to a family unit.

596 In spite of the fact that men usually claim the
462 break up of compounds and the division of extended fami-
508 lies is due to conflict among women, the village data suggests that the converse is also true for almost every large kinship unit that did exist in the village contained women who got along and who cooperated with each other in

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861 a resident is rarely alone. Children are always watched but their training is very relaxed and primarily by guidance and example. Only three times did I observe children being beaten although handslapping is frequent and threats are often used. The most common threat is to give the child
855 away for adoption. Children receive lots of affection and
861 considerable fondling. Life is such that few children are really raised in a semi-isolated nuclear family for if their homes do not already contain more than parents and siblings, there are either more distant relatives or good neighbors nearby. Everyone takes some responsibility for raising each other's children although harsh punishment is only administered by a member of the immediate family. Being harsh with
[604] a nephew led to one serious argument observed in an extended
[868] family. Children are not often held responsible for what they do and everyone claims they just do not know better.
863 For example, enuresis which occasionally continues into the
[513] early teens presents a real problem for the parents who normally sleep in the same bed with their children.[2] Yet, the wetting child is rarely struck. Instead, his liquids are curtailed in the evening before bedtime and his parents say he will grow out of it.

853 Solid food is slowly added to the diet at about three to four months of age commencing first with the thickened water used to boil rice. Weaning is gradual and so late that rarely are problems encountered.

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[589] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during